

## Message Text

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ACTION ARA-05

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R 162006Z MAR 76

FM AMEMBASSY BOGOTA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4073

C O N F I D E N T I A L BOGOTA 2797

STADIS////////////////////////////////////

LIMDIS

FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY ROGERS FROM AMBASSADOR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, CO

SUBJECT: OVERVIEW OF SECRETARY'S TRIP

REF: STATE 61171

1. TO THE COLOMBIAN PUBLIC THE TRIP WAS MERELY INTERESTING; IT WAS SYMPATHETICALLY RECEIVED EXCEPT FOR THE US-BRAZILIAN ASPECT WHICH HAS AROUSED STRONG CRITICISM (SEE BELOW). NO PARTICULAR PUBLIC EXPECTATIONS WERE AROUSED EXCEPT FOR LIEVANO'S TRADE PROPOSALS WHICH HAVE HAD SUBSEQUENT LOCAL PUBLICITY (BOGOTA 2128).

2. THE REAL IMPACT AND VALUE OF THE BOGOTA VISIT LAY IN THE REINFORCEMENT OF PERSONAL CONTACT AND APPRECIATION BETWEEN THE SECRETARY ON THE ONE HAND AND LOPEZ/LIEVANO ON THE OTHER, AND THE INTERACTION THAT THAT MAKES POSSIBLE. THIS ASPECT HAS PRACTICAL SIGNIFICANCE AND CONSEQUENCES: A) THE GOC LEADERS HAVE NOW PERSONALIZED US-COLOMBIAN RELATIONS, AND THEIR HOPES AND EXPECTATIONS AS TO US POLICIES ARE PINNED ON THE SECRETARY AND NOT ON THE MACHINERY; I.E., THEY DEPEND UPON HIS INSIGHTS AND POLITICAL POWER TO OVERCOME WHAT THEY REGARD AS THE OBSTACLES OF BUREAUCRACY, RED TAPE AND CONFLICTING VESTED INTERESTS;  
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B) SINCE COLOMBIANS CUSTOMARILY PERSONALIZE THEIR RELATION-

SHIPS, THIS IS A VERY CONGENIAL MODUS OPERANDI THAT AROUSES INTEREST AND ENTHUSIASM, AND MAKES RELATIONS WITH THE US MORE RELEVANT IN THEIR THINKING; C) AS A DIRECT RESULT OF THESE CONTACTS, GOC LEADERS HAVE BEEN ENCOURAGED TO TAKE CONSTRUCTIVE INITIATIVES (LIEVANO'S LATEST CONVERSATION WITH ME IS A CASE IN POINT) D) IN RETURN, A PERSONAL APPEAL BY THE SECRETARY ON ANY ISSUE WOULD HAVE TREMENDOUS WEIGHT; OUR PERSUASIVENESS IS THEREBY INCREASED; AND E) LOPEZ AND LIEVANO BOTH HAVE A HEIGHTENED SENSE OF EXPECTATION THAT THE SECRETARY WILL PRODUCE ACTION IN LINE WITH THEIR SPECIFIC ASPIRATIONS (SEE 4 BELOW).

3. OF THE THREE SPECIFIC THINGS RAISED, TWO--TEXTILES AND IBRD CAPITAL INCREASE--ARE IN EFFECT TESTS OF EARNESTNESS. THE TEXTILE QUESTION IS A SPECIAL TOUCHSTONE FOR THE COLOMBIANS (SEE LAST PARA BOGOTA 2435); NEGATIVE RESPONSE WOULD NOT BE FATAL BUT IT WOULD RESURRECT COLOMBIAN BELIEF THAT WHATEVER WE SAY WE WILL NOT INCREASE MARKET ACCESS IF IT IS PAINFUL TO DO SO.

4. THE MAJOR EXPECTATION, HOWEVER, CENTERS ON LIEVANO'S TRADE PROPOSAL. HE IS IN THE PROCESS OF CONVERTING HIS VAGUE WORDS INTO CONCRETE SUGGESTIONS FOR PRESENTATION TO OASGA; HE EXPECTS WE ARE DOING THE SAME. WHAT LIEVANO HAS IN MIND TENDS TOWARD A "LOME-LIKE" ARRANGEMENT I.E., SPECIAL TREATMENT BUT NOT NECESSARILY EXCLUSIVITIES. THE GOC TOOK THE SECRETARY'S EXPRESSED INTEREST (AND HIS REPETITION OF THE POINT IN SAN JOSE AND BEFORE THE HOUSE COMMITTEE) AS MEANING A SERIOUS INTEREST AND INTENT TO SUPPORT THE IDEA. THEY EXPECT SOMETHING FROM US IN SANTIAGO. TO THE EXTENT WE DO NOT RESPOND OR TO THE EXTENT WE LABOR AND BRING FORTH A MOUSE THE DISAPPOINTMENT AND BACKLASH WILL BE CORRESPONDING--ALL THE MORE SO GIVEN THE PERSONALIZATION THAT HAS TAKEN PLACE (PARA 2 ABOVE).

5. THE LIEVANO PROPOSAL CANNOT ACCURATELY BE APPRECIATED EXCEPT IN TERMS OF THE COLOMBIAN CONCEPT OF WHAT A CONSTRUCTIVE US-LA RELATIONSHIP SHOULD BE. THAT CONCEPT IS ESSENTIALLY WHAT LIEVANO DESCRIBED TO ME A FEW WEEKS AGO (BOGOTA 1252) AND EARLIER (75 BOGOTA 11776).  
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WHAT WAS IN EFFECT MADE CLEAR IN THE VISIT WAS THAT THIS VIEW IS ESPOUSED BY THE PRESIDENT--IS IN EFFECT THE GOC VIEW. THE VISIT WAS THE OPPORTUNITY FOR THE GOC TO INVITE SPECIFIC US INTEREST AND ACTION IN THE AREA OF GREATEST IMPORTANCE TO GOC, VIZ., TRADE. EXPECTATIONS AND HOPES SHOULD BE READ ACCORDINGLY.

6. ON MAJOR THEMES, THE GOC IS SATISFIED WITH PROGRESS ON

PANAMA AND ACCEPTS OUR GOOD FAITH. THE WORRIES LOPEZ EXPRESSED ON CUBA REPRESENT HIS TRUE INNER THOUGHTS WHICH HE WILL NOT MAKE PUBLIC AND MAY NOT EVEN REVEAL TO MANY. LOPEZ IS UNLIKELY TO FEEL CAPABLE OF ANY PUBLIC INITIATIVES, HOWEVER, AND MY GUESS IS HE DOES NOT KNOW REALLY WHAT TO DO. HE WILL SURELY LOOK TO US FOR INITIATIVES--AND TO CARRY THE BURDEN.

7. THE ONE NEGATIVE ASPECT OF THE TRIP WAS THE IMAGE PROJECTED, CORRECTLY OR NOT, OF A US-BRAZILIAN "AXIS". PUBLIC CRITICISM HAS BEEN STRONG; PRIVATELY POLITICAL/CIVIC LEADERS STILL BRING IT UP IN CONVERSATIONS; WE HAVE IT FROM A RELIABLE SOURCE THAT LOPEZ HIMSELF THINKS THE PUBLICITY A TACTICAL ERROR AND THE CONCEPT PERHAPS MISTAKEN. CHARACTERISTIC REGIONAL JEALOUSIES AND RIVALRIES AND THE INNATE SUSPICION BETWEEN SPANISH AMERICA AND BRAZIL ALL PLAY A PART. BUT THE ROOT THAT IS MOST SIGNIFICANT FOR OUR PURPOSES IS A RATHER SOPHISTICATED GEOPOLITICAL CONCEPT WHICH THE GOC POSSESSES. COLOMBIA HAS ALWAYS FELT THAT THE REGION WILL BE MOST HEALTHY WHEN ITS POWER RELATIONSHIP IS IN BALANCE AND WHEN NO ONE NATION OUTWEIGHTS THE OTHERS EFFECTIVELY. THIS KIND OF BALANCE OF POWER CONCEPT LED IN PART TO COLOMBIA'S INITIAL ESPOUSAL OF THE ANDEAN PACT (TO OFFSET BRAZIL AND MEXICO, AND IS WHAT REALLY LIES BEHIND THEIR SUPPORT OF THE IA SYSTEM. WHAT THE PUBLICITY TRIGGERED WAS A FEAR THAT MAYBE WE ARE UNDERWRITING BRAZILIAN POWER; IF TO THE RECOGNIZED DEVELOPING WEALTH AND POWER OF BRAZIL WERE ADDED US POWER, THEN HOW DOES SPANISH-AMERICA DEFEND ITSELF? THE GOC CONCERN IS SOPHISTICATED HOWEVER. IT WILL WAIT TO SEE WHAT IN FACT THE NATURE OF THE US/BRAZILIAN RELATIONSHIP TURNS OUT TO BE, AND--MORE IMPORTANTLY--WHAT THE US/REST-OF-LA RELATIONSHIP TURNS OUT TO BE.

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8. ALL OF WHICH BRINGS US FULL CIRCLE BACK TO THE GOC CONCEPT MENTIONED IN PARA 5 ABOVE. THE REASON COLOMBIA IS ANXIOUS FOR AN ACTIVE US POLICY IN THE HEMISPHERE IS TO BALANCE--NOT SUPPORT--RISING POWER ANYWHERE IN THE SYSTEM (BRAZIL OR EVEN VENEZUELA). INDEED, IN THE COLOMBIAN VIEW, THE IDEAL US SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP AND PRESENCE WOULD BE A) A BROAD DISINTERESTED UMBRELLA UNDER WHICH EACH NATION CAN IN FACT (AND PARADOXICALLY) BETTER REALIZE ITS INDEPENDENCE; AND B) THE SOURCE OF LEGITIMATE (I.E. NON-COLONIALIST) SPECIAL ECONOMIC SUPPORT, THIS TIME IN TRADE SINCE AID IS NOT THE BASIC CONSTRAINT. ONLY IN THAT WAY, THE COLOMBIANS ARE IN EFFECT SAYING, CAN THE LAS AVOID TOO DEEP AN INVOLVEMENT WITH (OR DEPENDENCY ON) OTHER FORCES (THIRD WORLD, NON-ALIGNED, SOCIALISTS, ETC.) WITH NONE OF WHICH THEY FEEL COMFORTABLE AND WITH WHICH THEY IDEALLY WOULD LIKE

TO BE ABLE TO RELATE ONLY WHEN AND IF THEY WANT TO AND NOT BECAUSE  
THEY HAVE TO. THAT IS WHY THE GOC IS CONCERNED ABOUT OUR FUTURE  
POLICIES. IF THESE DO NOT RESULT IN THIS KIND OF BALANCE/  
SUPPORT, THEN THE BALANCE OF POWER POLICIES COLOMBIA WILL  
FEEL OBLIGED TO DEVELOP--IF IT CAN AT ALL--WILL BE COMPLICATED  
AND TROUBLESOME INDEED.  
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